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Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely
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associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succotash" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[21]

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Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be-
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longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de
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mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

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Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 8h per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 [438] (489) Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market--in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. BB [438] On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are B [245] [433] in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system BB [489] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [311] [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of orange within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production [258] in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared [438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of annuals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
311 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies
13 along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the
Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco
occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent
Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and
upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concen-
tration on the extreme southern edge of the tabuleiros. Thus the region
occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south
but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where
there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close corres-
pondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has
been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region
anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one
from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen
forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
433 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
161 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a
36 number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over
a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north
of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the
density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the
relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
249 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. Associated with the exchange 231 438 of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

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231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the live-
(433) stock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana. In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

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433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

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241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [438] [249] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição do Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed
- Staples:
  - Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)
- Meat:
  - Fresh beef and pork
- Vegetables:
  - Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties
- Fruits:
  - Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papaya, and mangoes
- Coffee
- Coconuts
- Live Animals:
  - Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
• 438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 452 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agriculturalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaqueiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaqueiro—bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by means of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
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455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

491 One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
[492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
• 438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

494 493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

494 651 438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
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496 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
471 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
249 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
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438 Recôncavo are consumed privarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 471 [454] The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 [439] Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

207 [464] The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 433 [231] [233] of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] [438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal
31 Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São
[134] Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the
244 production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc
[433] cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is
[423] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small
[427] cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock
[231] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the
[233] use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried,
276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco
276 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and
438 the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to
[452] the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
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438 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

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134 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary tabolsiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
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[178] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing, but with violent year to year fluctuations.

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433 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

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137 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultivation. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilometers. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane growers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes leading to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833 Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial district, thereby losing its prominence as the center of jurisdiction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially, Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802, Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

> In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few inhabitants, and most of them poor, although throughout the termo there are many good families of noble people, rich through the products of their large engenhos, from which they take much and excellent sugar, the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brasiliana 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila," (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

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The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

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The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells, and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.

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This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 4,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).